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175 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.
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Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt—the quality of the soil—revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo Baiano, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.

It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.⁷

By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty engenhos were engaged in the production of sugar.⁸ The engenhos were the nuclei of the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be recruited from among the indigenous Indians.⁹ This labor force was supplied from the slave pens of Africa—chiefly on the Guinea Coast

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[504] and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.¹⁰

Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites, 18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes

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162 were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.¹¹ It seems likely
162 that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number
563 of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives
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162 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the
 563 population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely
 corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white,
 22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto,
 49 per cent.¹²

The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
 175 tion of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The
 439 indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although
 567 rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential
 436 source of exchange for the slave traffic.¹³ Bahia was the main area of
 276 tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized
 [293] in the Recôncavo.¹⁴
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The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of
 175 manioc¹⁵ into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it
 244 was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to
 433 purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brasil. By
 [507] 1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in
 Bahia.¹⁶ A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the
 shortage of this essential foodstuff.

In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
 241 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the
 262 early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown
 175 on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
 433 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were
 231 maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills.
 For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of
 178 old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic
 249 agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its
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433 contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly
178 manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive.
249 The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the
[492] mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water
power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was
evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from
wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for
several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo

[464] backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave
567 labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the
Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes¹⁸ had a relatively
[177] sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made
substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.¹⁹

175 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to pro-
249 vide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in
464 sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor
567 shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a
perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil.

[162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of
which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did
not solve the problem.²⁰ In the early period most engenhos had from
about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many
as 1,000.²¹

175 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegena-
563 tion. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred
567 on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the
mestizo and mulatto children--chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo--
retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and
sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

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The landed, slave-owning aristocrat was the master of Recôncavo society. The extended aristocratic family was the basic social, economic, and political unit of colonial society. The upper class of the Recôncavo, composed of inter-related family units, continued without substantial alteration until the twentieth century.

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Despite the predominance of sugar cane and the engenho in the colonial Recôncavo--and in the literature on the region--other products and other institutions were important. It is clear that tobacco and manioc were the chief secondary agricultural products, but the development of the associated institutions is not documented. Presumably a class of small semi-subsistence cultivators occupied the lands unsuitable for sugar cane. This class probably was composed of whites lacking the capital for plantation agriculture and freed mulattoes and slaves--manumission was very common in the Recôncavo. The chief commercial product of these small farmers was rolo or corda tobacco (similar to a "twist" of tobacco),²² and probably to a lesser extent farinha de mandioca (manioc flour). In addition, corn, beans, rice, and bananas were produced.

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The colonial economy of the Recôncavo was not self-sufficient, in spite of the production of food crops and meat animals on small farms and on plantations. Near the beginning of colonization the livestock ranching industry, originating in coastal areas like the Recôncavo, migrated into the interior of the Northeast. Thereafter

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a strong current of trade in animals, especially cattle, flowed into the Recôncavo from the São Francisco valley, from Ceará, and probably from the sertão of Bahia between the coast and the mountains. These animals were exchanged at the cattle fairs--notably at Feira de Santana--for the products of the coast and for imports from abroad.

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maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.²⁹

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The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas

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grandes—if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical—generally were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult:

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few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or

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palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown

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local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.³⁰

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Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were

relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation-

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ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

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the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as

- [563] members of the household.

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A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

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The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

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In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.³¹ At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brasil as between

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4,000,000 to 4,500,000.³² Salvador, with a population somewhere between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.³³ The class and ethnic composition of the

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population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates, over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

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was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the people were slaves.³⁴

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Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR ENGENHOS OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*	
	Per Unit	Total Investment
603 mills	\$2,500	\$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150	7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20	904,500
23,100 horses	20	462,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46 (approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23 (approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000	141,000
62 water canals	3,000	186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000	1,206,000
Total in Bahia		\$16,117,500

*Conversion at \$500 per thousand of reis, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.

Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the engenho, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the senhor de engenho is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almost

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Economic and social changes in Brazil during the last century have had two important effects upon the relative position of the Recôncavo: (1) This historic region, in common with much of the Northeast, has lagged behind the new economic and social centers of the Central-South--the Recôncavo has become, vis-a-vis Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and the southern states, an under-developed area. (2) Many new, usually externally originated, cultural elements have been rapidly accepted in the Recôncavo, whereas much of the conservative ideology of the society has remained essentially unchanged.

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Racial Characteristics. The Recôncavo is a region of heterogeneous racial characteristics--in every município each of the three basic racial groups (white, black, and mixed) comprises at least 10 per cent of the population. These racial categories generally do not correspond to social groups, nor is the Recôncavo in any sense a plural society. In lineage, in social and cultural interaction, and in the daily business of earning a living the various people of the region are closely linked.

During three centuries of slavery hundreds of thousands of Africans were brought into Bahia, and the Negro element in the population is still large. As a result of this and the more or less continuous miscegenation "Baia [Bahia] and Negroid characteristics are very closely associated in Brazilian thinking."⁶ On the basis of the 1940 census, over 70 per cent of the people of the state of Bahia were Negroes or mixed bloods. Only one other Brazilian state--Amazonas--had a higher proportion, and the national average was only 36 per cent.⁷ Within Bahia the proportion of non-whites was highest in the Centro-Litoral (east-central Bahia), which includes the Recôncavo. In 1940, 78 per cent of the people of this census division were Negroes or mixed bloods.⁸

TABLE V

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE STATE OF BAHIA AND THE RECÔNCAVO MUNICÍPIOS

	Per cent of Total Population - 1940		
	Whites	Blacks	Others
State of Bahia	28.74	20.13	51.11
Central Recôncavo:			
Santo Amaro	10.47	37.59	51.94
São Francisco	14.02	29.96	56.01
São Sebastião	12.74	32.76	54.50
Cachoeira	11.71	38.51	49.78
Northern Recôncavo:			
Coração de Maria	15.58	37.18	47.23
Irará	12.50	34.07	53.43
Alagoinhas	22.88	24.41	52.69
Northwestern Recôncavo:			
Feira de Santana	12.16	28.31	59.53
São Gonçalo	10.63	48.19	41.18
Conceição da Feira	15.24	47.46	37.16
Santo Estêvão	17.66	31.38	50.95
Southwestern Recôncavo:			
Muritiba	10.48	40.48	49.03
Cruz das Almas	16.34	36.84	46.82
Conceição do Almeida	19.63	30.54	49.83
São Filipe	25.32	30.66	44.02
São Félix	15.78	33.33	50.87
Eastern Recôncavo:			
Catu	23.78	22.58	53.64
Pojuca	22.69	21.90	55.41
Southern Recôncavo:			
Maragogipe	37.40	23.05	39.53
Itaparica	14.60	26.99	58.38
Salvador	35.08	26.33	38.54

Note: The difference between the totals of these figures and 100 per cent consists of a very small percentage of Orientals.

Source: Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, 1940. Rio de Janeiro, 1949.

From the above table (Table V) it can be seen that "whites" compose less than one-third of the total population of all Recôncavo municípios except Maragogipe and Salvador. Over one-fourth of the population is classified as "black" in all but the three municípios of Alagoinhas, Maragogipe, and Catu. Those persons classified as "others"—mulatos and mestiços—account for 40 to 60 per cent of the population

- 563 in all municípios but three—Maragogipe, Salvador, and Conceição da
 162 Feira. The variations between the individual municípios reflect:
 634 (1) concentrations of Negroes in the sugar cane area; and (2) concentrations of mixed-bloods, some of which are mestiços, on the inland borders of the Recôncavo and around the sugar zone. Salvador has a relatively larger white group--35 per cent--and a lower proportion of mixed-bloods--38 per cent.

563 With the possible exception of the prevailing white upper class,
 565 no significant cultural segment of Recôncavo society can be defined in racial terms. The lower class is composed of Negroes, mixed bloods, and whites--it is an economic, not a racial unit. The upper class is predominantly white, but this primarily reflects the historical economic advantages of the white people and only incidentally the social advantages of a lighter skin. Given wealth, dark-skinned people enter the upper class with little--but nevertheless perceptible--difficulty on account of their racial background. Baianos say "a rich man is not a Negro." If a Negro or mulato is wealthy, many people think of him as being light-skinned. The cultural range between the upper and lower class in Recôncavo society is great. Neither the simpler cultural system of the lower classes nor the sophisticated upper class culture is associated with race per se.⁹

565 Class Differences. Recôncavo society is characterized by a strongly developed class structure and little vertical social mobility. In a recent anthropological survey of class in Brazil, "one's income, the kind of work one does, one's education, one's family (in varying degrees) and finally, one's physical [i.e. racial] appearance" were the main criteria used.¹⁰ The study made by Hutchinson of a small community in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area in 1950-51 distinguished four social strata.¹¹ Among the findings of the study were the following:

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[62] Five families, out of a total community population of 4,269, composed the aristocratic upper class. All five were plantation-owning families, resident on their fazendas or engenhos. All were closely linked either to each other or to other aristocratic families in the sugar-cane area and in Salvador by marriage [and were linked through these to the national Brazilian upper class]. All were relatively well educated, and most of the males had university degrees in law, engineering, or medicine. All were of Caucasoid appearance.

[87] The second class consisted of local bureaucrats, plantation administrators, sugar-mill technicians, merchants, and professional people of the only small town (cidade, a sort of county seat). For the most part they were descendants of local people. The educational range was from university educated doctors to illiterates. Members of this class included pure Caucasoids, brancos da terra (whites of the land, or whites with known or suspected Negro ancestors) mulattoes, and some Negroes. This was called a local upper class to distinguish it from the regional, aristocratic, upper class.

The third and most numerous class was that of "the people" (gente). This was the class of those who did physical work. They were plantation and mill workers, craftsmen, and fishermen. In the urban segment of this class, in the cidade, there was a fairly continuous gradation of standing within this class, with each occupational group occupying a defined social position. In the agricultural segment there is also a definite hierarchy. The fetor (foreman) and the vaqueiro (cowboy) form an upper level. On the basis of the sequence of promotion and the degree of authority elsewhere in the sugar zone, the balançeiro or weigh master also belongs in this group. The bulk of the plantation workers form the next

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563 sub-stratum. Most of the rural and urban workers who fell within the third class were Negroes, mulatos, or dark-skinned negritos.

At the bottom of the social hierarchy was a small group of cidade dwellers of menial position. These were porters, water carriers, washerwomen, domestic servants, and odd-jobbers. This class was chiefly Negro or mulatto, but there were some brancos da terra.

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369 The homes of the aristocratic upper class were all located on fazendas outside the cidade. The lowermost class was entirely urban. The other classes were both rural and urban in distribution. The aristocratic upper class did not intermarry with, nor receive new members directly from, the local upper class. There was some social mobility between the various levels in the lower class.

The above analysis of class corresponds quite closely to the general class structure throughout the sugar-cane zone and with modification to Salvador. The composition of the upper class of Salvador is more complex. Here the upper stratum is composed not only of landed aristocrats and their dispossessed descendants but also of urban capitalists and speculators. These latter often have agricultural landholdings, but usually as an investment rather than as a way of life. These people are generally newcomers to the upper class. The professions also have their place in the upper class, since members of the families of aristocrats, dispossessed aristocrats, and capitalists are often prominent doctors, lawyers, and, in recent years, engineers.

The more complex composition of the upper class in Salvador is a product of the economic decline of the aristocratic family and the concurrent rise of powerful business interests. This development reflects the growth of a greater degree of social mobility among the upper class of Salvador than is characteristic of the sugar cane area.

parently the criteria for class distinctions were evolved and "set" at that time. The white Portuguese males, and the few Portuguese women present, were the owners of the land and of the people, both Indian and Negro, who were drawn into the cultural milieu which became Brazilian society. They were the group who set up and presented the ideal behavior patterns to the others. They were at the peak of the status and prestige hierarchy, while the slave was at the bottom. Thus was established the original dichotomy of the whites as upper-class and the colored people as lower-class. As colonial development continued, other factors were added to this basic one by the will of the whites. For it was the white group which was primarily responsible for the creation of the mestiço, and it was the white who placed this new mestiço socially between himself and the darkest colored person.

It is clear that color distinctions arose along with the creation of the multishaded mestiço group, and that at the same time other factors were brought into being, qualifying that of color, such as education, family, and occupation. White masters who had children by dark slaves often raised them as legitimate if they were light-skinned, that is, if the difference between father and child was not too great. In such a case the child could become a member of the upper end of the social hierarchy, with education, family, and a position in which he could command others rather than do any manual labor. This was particularly the case when the white master did not have a legitimate, European wife to bear him children. If the difference between father and offspring was too great for the child to be easily acceptable as the son of a European, the child was nevertheless not infrequently partially recognized and helped by the father in some fashion. He then took his place among the gente pequena, free but, illegitimate and rather dark-skinned. With marked Negroid features his status was even lower than the European gente pequena. An illegitimate child who proved to be clearly Negroid was likely to be left in bondage with its mother. Thus, early in Brazilian society the degree of skin darkness and the kind of facial features and hair form became important. Opportunity for personal advancement was linked with similarity to the white European, who was the giver of status and who liked to give higher status to those in his image.

Until 1888 there were two major social categories: slaves and nonslaves. Within the nonslave group, however, there

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were definite subdivisions or classes, with the white European landowner at the top and the darkest-colored free laborer at the bottom. This bottom group grew constantly as a result of the addition of manumitted slaves, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Abolition of slavery removed the strongest barrier to mobility for the largest homogeneous segment of Brazilian population, that of the slaves. Overnight the former slaves became the bottom rank of a new prestige system based mainly on five major criteria: economic power or wealth, profession, education, family, and color. As the lower ranks swelled in size after the abolition, color decreased in importance for mobility, as the other four factors became increasingly meaningful for this large segment of the population. Because of the fact that for three hundred years such a large part of the nonslave population had been colored or meatigo, and there was already in existence a social scale which included them, the entrance of the former slaves into free society did not upset what was already a fully functioning class system, even though the addition of so many people to the bottom class made this by far the largest, numerically.

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The abolition of slavery also gave increased emphasis to class competition, or at least to the possibilities of competition among a greatly enlarged number of people. Nevertheless, the gap between the top of the hierarchy, the regional aristocracy, and any of those below remained as great as before, restricting class competition to the members of the lower classes. Few people from below were able to enter the uppermost group unless they were white and had in some way accumulated sufficient wealth. Some merchants moved into this class through the purchase of property as former aristocratic families died out. As time went on, many people in the upper brackets of the middle class maintained easy social relations with the upper class.

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However, formal marriage between colored people of the ranks below and white people of the upper class has always been forbidden; the small group of landowners and other upper-class people continued to intermarry as they had for centuries. Nevertheless, even this barrier has broken down occasionally, for upper-class people have married and do marry persons known to be of mixed descent. Usually, however, the meatigo partner in such a union is very light-skinned and comes from a family in good economic circumstances which

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has already been accepted by other members of the upper class as their equal or nearly so.

Race or color prejudice finds its strongest expression at just this point--marriage into the upper class--but even here, if the mestizo is sufficiently light-skinned, educated, and well-mannered, he or she can and does marry into the best families. The importance of the "bleaching process" in this society cannot be overestimated, for apparently the trend is toward lighter skins and straighter hair on a national scale. In the case of a marriage between one known to be of mixed descent and a member of an upper-class family, no point is ever made of the fact that one partner is "less white" than the other. Aside from the question of marriage into the small top group, color merges in importance with the other criteria, such as economic situation and education, in the contention for class position.

The three-class system which has been implied in the foregoing passages has recently been thoroughly described.² Although finer local distinctions have called for the addition of a fourth class here, Vila Recôncavo provides an excellent example of the various national classes. As in all discussions about this community, the urban-rural distinctions must be kept in mind. The local class system may be portrayed as follows:

TABLE 2
SOCIAL CLASSES IN VILA RECÔNCAVO

	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>
Class A	none	landowners
Class B	local bureaucrats, merchants, professional people	plantation administrators, mill technicians, specialists, office help
Class C	fishermen, gardeners, craftsmen	millworkers, field hands
Class D	laundresses, servants, persons without steady employment or craft	none

2. Charles Wagley, ed., Race and Class in Rural Brazil (Paris, 1952), pp. 144 ff.

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total expenditures for food, just half in total value of what Class A spends. Both Class A and Class B spend more for food alone than the total expenditures of classes C and D. The rural field workers spend the least amount for food, which again reflects their possession of garden plots.

Color consciousness runs all through class relations and can even be equated with class to a certain extent. All Class A members are white; Class B has whites and a mixture of the others; Class C is nearly entirely composed of mestiços and blacks with the exception of a few "whites of the land" who are usually considered separately from mestiços; while Class D has light mestiços as well as blacks. "Color consciousness, or "color relations," would better describe the situation in this Bahian rural area than would the term "race relations," for although the Portuguese word raça, directly translatable into English as race, is used in this area to designate the three major racial stocks, American Indian, Negro, and Caucasian, it also means Brazilian in the sense of nationality. It is even more commonly used to describe animals which are pedigreed in contrast with those which are not. When asked questions about race, people are apt to ask first what kind of race is meant. If one speaks of color the situation is much clearer.

In the United States an absolute "line" is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, whatever his percentage of Negro heritage may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this "line" is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is "pure" white and who is not. Classification by color is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. Recôncavo Bahians feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a "pure" white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro, or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or describe minutely each person; they classify according to skin color, hair form, and facial features. Their classifications of physical types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's color and hair form.

In the Recôncavo a white person is called a branco. The term Negro is rarely used to denote a person of African de-

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scent. Rather, such a person is called homem de cor (man of color). Negro is used abstractly to denote the Negro race, but it is almost never used to single out an individual. Nêgo (a softened variation of the word Negro) may frequently be used as a term of endearment, even among whites, and it is sometimes used as a nickname. When a Bahian of the Recôncavo speaks of indio, he usually thinks of the Indian of the interior of Mato Grosso or of the Amazon. When he wishes to indicate people of American Indian physical type in the Recôncavo, he generally says caboclo, or caatingueiro, or sometimes ser-tanejo.

Even the whites are subclassified, divided into two categories, the louro (blond), and the moreno (brunet). There is still a third term for people with Caucasoid physical characteristics, namely branco da terra (white of the land). This term denotes one who is phenotypically white, that is, who has the physical characteristics of a Caucasoid--fair skin, fine features, and "good" (meaning "straight") hair--but whose ancestry has Negro blood. He is generally moreno (dark) and is frequently characterized by a slightly yellowish tinge to the skin. The branco da terra sometimes also shows traces of caboclo, as well as Negro and white, descent. In Vila Recôncavo, the "pure" white man may refer to such a person as a branco da terra but will ordinarily call him a branco. To the majority of the population, the branco da terra is always called white, and no one would ever call anyone a branco da terra to his face. He is accorded the same treatment as is any white person by both whites and nonwhites.

In classifying people, skin color is an important factor, but hair form is equally important. If there is any question about what to call a person, his hair is usually the deciding criterion. After skin and hair, facial features (prognathism, nose shape, and thickness of lips) are considered. The many designations used in Vila Recôncavo for the people of Negroid or mixed ancestry can be broken down roughly as follows:

1. The preto or preto retinto ("dark black") has black, shiny skin, kinky, woolly hair, thick lips, and a flat, broad nose. The pretos distinguish among themselves as to what they call qualidade (quality), and rank themselves according to minute differences in skin color, nose form, etc. The preto with the greatest "quality" is the farthest removed from the usual concept of a Negro, and yet he is still a black. He is a "prettier" black.

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2. The cabra (male) and cabrocha (female) are generally slightly lighter than the preto, with hair growing somewhat longer, but still kinky and unmanageable, facial features somewhat less Negroid, although often with fairly thick lips and flat nose. The cabra and cabrocha usually lack the definite facial features and shine of the preto.

3. The Cabo Verde is lighter than the preto, but still very dark. The Cabo Verde, however, has long, straight hair, and his facial features are apt to be very fine, with thin lips and a narrow, straight nose. He is almost a "black white man."

4. The escuro, or simply "dark man," is darker than the usual run of mestiços, but the term is generally applied to a person who does not fit into one of the three types mentioned above. The escuro is nearly, but not quite a Negro with Caucasoid features. He usually has "quality." Escuro is a very useful term for the outsider in the Recôncavo.

5. The mulato is a category always divided into two types, the mulato escuro and mulato claro (dark and light mulattoes). The mulato has hair which grows perhaps to shoulder length, but which has a decided curl or even kink. It can, however, be straightened. The mulato's facial features vary widely: thick lips with a narrow nose, or vice versa. As a rule, the features are "thicker" than the branco's and "thinner" than the preto's. The mulato is generally distinguishable by a yellowish tinge to his skin color, more accentuated than that of the branco da terra. His skin color varies from very light to very dark. A mulato claro, with straightened hair, thin lips, and a "good" nose, is very much like the branco da terra.

6. Pardo is a term not often used in speech. It is one of the official classifications used in the census and on identification papers. However, it is used occasionally to describe an individual who is closer to the white than a mulato claro. Occasionally mestiço children are described as pardo during the early years of their lives, before their features become distinctive enough to fit them definitely into one of the other groups. In one case, a little girl of three was called parda by her mother. The girl lives with her godfather, who is a branco da terra. He lists the girl as white, since her skin is very light and her hair is growing long and only slightly wavy. But her mother says she is a parda, because she knows that "her hair may curl up any day, which would make her a mulata clara."

7. The sarará is not difficult to distinguish. He has very

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light skin, and hair which is reddish or blondish but kinky or curled. His facial features are extremely varied, even more so than the mulato's. There are sararás who would "pass" for white in the United States, but more often the sarará has an unusual appearance: skin which is neither dark nor light, frequently freckled, eyes with a greenish-blue cast, and hair which bleaches easily in the sun. In Vila Recôncavo the sarará is usually found among fishermen and those living on the islands. It is difficult to find a person of this physical type without a good suntan and bleached hair.

8. The moreno has "excellent" skin, "fine-textured" and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasian than Negroid. Here again a distinction is made between the dark and light morenos; also between these and the moreno branco. Moreno, as used regarding the white, distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit completely into any of these "racial" types. When one has all the defined characteristics of the preto people call him "bem preto" or "bem pretinho" (really black). The same is true of the sarará, bem sarará; or of the moreno, who is called bem moreninho or moreno fino. It is just as difficult to find the ideal type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Many times one must point out that an individual is predominantly of one physical type but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an escuro, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as moreno. He has "fine" skin and "thin" facial features, but has tight, kinky hair. People generally refer to him as moreno, adding, "Mas ele tem cabelo ruim" (But he has bad hair). One frequently hears, "He is mulato, but very light." These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

A term of classification not listed above, caboclo, is something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with American Indian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the sertão during the dry spells of the north. In view of the length of time that people of the north have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few

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have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo shows a considerable Indian element, that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin color, more prominent cheekbones than the Africans or whites, and a tendency toward an almond-shaped eye. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called caboclos. They are classified instead in the local terms mentioned above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the caboclo. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo. He is often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, and frugal, but less genial than the easygoing person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many caboclo men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the resident workers of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the sertão, apart from the permanent workers.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types:

<u>Preto</u>	50, or 40 per cent
<u>Mulato</u>	59, or 49 per cent
<u>Caboclo</u>	3, or 2 per cent
<u>Branco</u>	11, or 9 per cent

Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behavior reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types. Two physical types, for example, the cabra-cabrocha and the sarará, are usually "more to be pitied than censured," for they are considered ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types, and "even a preto de qualidade is better than either of these--at least more handsome." Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with. They are sometimes irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types least preferred in Vila Recôncavo; all oth-

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ers have some positive qualities. People arrange their preferences in many ways, according to the physical qualities they wish to emphasize.

There is also a series of expressions used by everyone to describe the person who is trying to appear white. It is almost axiomatic that whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms "tem pinta" (has a "touch of the tarbrush"), or "tem sangue" (has Negro blood), or "é da raça" (is of the Negro race), or simply "besta" (show-off), "cheio de arte" (artful), "cheio de manha" (full of little tricks), or "fala bonito" (talks pretty).

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There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and mestiços who are showing off, or "pushing." Most of these start off with Negro:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.

Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.

Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.

Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.

Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.

Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.

Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

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The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field. A series of eight photographs were shown. These were of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire. They consisted of a male and a female representative of each of the four major racial types, the caboclo, the preto, the mulato, and the branco. An attempt was made to keep the photographs from giving any clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the caboclo male was that of a middle-aged man, but of a type considered locally as having a strong personality, while the caboclo woman was older and certainly not simpática (pleasant) in the local view. The two pretos were both unmistakably pretos, and both young. The mulato male and female differed one from the other, for the man was definitely a common mulato type, while the woman was almost

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a morena mulata rather than "pure" mulata. She was young and considered much more simpatica than any of the other three women presented. The two whites were also both young, but neither was distinguished in any way, and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were "pure" white or not.

The questionnaire was given to eighty-five people, broken down into the following groups:

18 <u>brancos</u>	11 males	7 females
41 <u>mulatos</u>	21 males	20 females
18 <u>pretos</u>	7 males	11 females
8 <u>caboclos</u>	6 males	2 females
85	45	40

Table 6 gives the results as to which racial types were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest, and most religious.

TABLE 6
PHYSICAL TYPES

Question	Number of people selected in 1st place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	39*	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	26	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	27	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	37	8	17	23
Best worker (man)	4	38	13	30
Best worker (woman)	7	22	23	33
Most honest man	11	22	8	44
Most honest woman	15	13	22	33
Most religious man	21	15	13	36
Most religious woman	17	11	17	40

*Underlined numbers indicate the group most frequently selected in first place.

From Table 6 it becomes clear that the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; and that the numerically indicated preference for the female type is the mulata--but the cabocla, it must be noted, is equally selected with the white.

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Both the mulata and the cabocla (despite her apparent age) of the photographs are of types which have the physical characteristics of the morena, so preferred in Vila Recôncavo. It is surprising that the caboclo male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest; but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photograph of the caboclo to have a rather "distinguished" face, while the white on the photograph was felt to be a young man with what might be considered a "characterless" face. The preto man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, while the cabocla was chosen as the best woman worker. This may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: "Good for nothing else." The caboclos, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the caboclo, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table 7, a breakdown of Table 6 by racial types, shows clearly the types selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites, and the caboclos.

TABLE 7
BREAKDOWN OF TABLE 6 BY RACIAL TYPES

Question	Chosen in first place by:			
	Pretos(P)	Mulatos(M)	Branco(B)	Caboclos(C)
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C&B	M	C	C
Most wealthy man	P	C	B	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker (man)	P	C	P	P
Best worker (woman)	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C&M	C	C	C&B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

*Where two racial types are in first place it means they received an equal number of "votes."

Table 7 shows the extremely low position of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in the first

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place in only one instance--namely, as best worker--and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table 6 the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen as such only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the cabocla and the white woman. In summing up the total number of "votes," the mulatto woman won by the narrow margin of four. It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the preto man as the wealthiest, selecting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types selected the caboclo first.

Most people who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark, because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently the greatest number of opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy preto than a poor white.

No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colors are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as mosca no leite ("fly in the milk"), and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman but now a merchant of some means, is a preto married to a branca da terra who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not aided him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has "lightened" his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children are being educated in the city, and are more readily acceptable because of their color and their economic background. Their chances for a good marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the town's uppermost class is engaged to a preto who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that although she had a good "catch"--that is, a successful man--he was too dark for her, in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a branco da terra, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

The one impassable gap between the upper class of "aristocratic whites" and those below them is marriage. The white of the second class may be acceptable to the upper class be-

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cause he is white. But the chances are heavy against the marriage of a member of Class A with a "man of color." Perhaps in the city a marriage between a white of this upper class and a mestiço of the same group would take place, but this would certainly not happen in the rural area.

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Until the end of the last century a number of bastards were produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with the slaves and former slaves. A large segment of the Vila Recôncavo population is made up of these individuals and their children, and in many cases they bear the name of the white's family. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mestiço has the family name not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary; but they will never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family's physical characteristics, if he has a darker skin.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a white man and a slave recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free prior to abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher and made excellent professional connections in the world of education. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed aid to educate one of her own daughters, she received such aid from her mestiço cousin.

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Because it is so striking a feature of these color relations, it may be repeated that there is only one series in the classification and this includes everyone from white to black. Regardless of degree of color all types are part of the same broad three-class system. The categories are known to all people, not only to those who happen to be "people of color," and they are used by all in referring to others.

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



1. Mulatto cowboy of the interior of Bahia
[facing P. 18]

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



[facing p. 19]

2. Cabocla of the interior of Bahia

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but spends most of his time on his plantation. The rest of the municipal officials are, for the most part, people who live in the town, although some of the town councillors are also planters living in the rural area. 634

The population of the area under study was 4,269 in 1940, and is approximately the same now. Of this number, 1,462 are residents of the town. Of the total of 4,269, only 17 adults (plus their 16 children) in the rural area are considered locally, and appear to be, pure Caucassoid. They are all plantation owners, and all of them also have residences in the city of Salvador as well as in the rural area of Vila Recôncavo. Living in the town are 14 persons (plus their eight children) who are also considered pure Caucassoid. Three of these are foreign-born priests, one is a doctor, one a dentist, one a state tax collector, one a federal tax collector, and two are young men who have married into town families. The others are the wives and sisters of the men in the group, although one of the wives is suspected of having Negro ancestors since she has to have her hair straightened while the others have theirs curled. There are five families and numerous other individuals in Vila Recôncavo who are called 'white', but whose ancestry is known to all as not being entirely Caucassoid, and in the rural area there are even fewer. These people are known as *brancos da terra* (whites of the land), a term similar to the *brancos da Bahia* of which Pierson speaks. [6] 162 [161]

The two other elements which are present in the population of Vila Recôncavo and the surrounding rural area are the Negro and the Indian. As might be expected, the Negroid element in the population overwhelmingly predominates, and there are people who represent mixtures of Negro and Caucassoid ancestry in all possible proportions. The American Indian element appears in the people called locally the *caboclos*, generally from the arid north-eastern *sertão*, who are of mixed Indian and Caucassoid descent. These *caatingueiros* (literally, people from the low brush country of *caatinga*) and *sertanejos* (literally, people from the *sertão*) are not usually permanent residents of the Recôncavo. As a rule, *levas* or groups of these *caboclos* of *caatingueiros* come down into the Recôncavo at harvest time, from September to March, to work during the period when the *sertão* is dry and unproductive. Generally also, only men come, and they remain apart from the permanent plantation workers and at the end of the harvest head for home. 563

In Vila Recôncavo and its rural area, four social strata can be distinguished. First, there is a small upper class of aristocratic whites. This is almost an endogamous class, and intermarriage between first cousins is extremely frequent. The 17 white adults mentioned above are the members of the five families which locally compose this class. These families have been in the area for generations; two of them have been linked through first-cousin marriages 565 [582]

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(596) for several generations. In the other families, marriages have been, with but one exception, with persons of equal class status, although frequently with aristocratic families from other parts of the Recôncavo or from Salvador. In the one exception, the husband was without wealth or much education, but he was known to be of pure white descent. All these families live *em família* (within the family), both in the rural area and in the capital, where they spend a part of the year. Traditional family and friendship ties persist among them. They are large families with numerous relatives in the city and in other communities of the Recôncavo, so that dinners, dances, card parties, anniversaries and other social events are generally within the extended family. Most of the males in this group have a profession, such as lawyer, engineer or doctor.

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The second social stratum is a slightly larger group consisting of the bureaucrats of the town, plantation administrators, technicians and specialists of the sugar mill, merchants and professional people of the town, such as the doctor, dentist and schoolteachers. Persons in this group are for the most part descendants of local people, although the doctor, the dentist and several of the schoolteachers are from the outside. In this group, one finds the 14 'pure' whites mentioned as living in Vila Recôncavo itself, and five of them are members of a family of former planters. People in this stratum do not have residences in the capital. On the whole, this class is less well-educated than the class above it; it even includes people who have had no formal education whatsoever, and two individuals who cannot read or write. In this class are found most of the *brancos da terra*, many mulattoes and some Negroes, as well as the whites mentioned. This group might be termed the 'local upper class' to distinguish it from the small group of regional aristocrats mentioned above.

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The third social stratum of Vila Recôncavo is by far the largest numerically. It consists of 'the people' (*o povo*, or simply *gente*), fishermen, carpenters, bricklayers, mill hands, plantation workers, and all others who do physical labour. Fourthly, there is a smaller group of even less status in the community, the people without a regular and steady income—women generally without husbands, but with children, who earn their living carrying water to homes from the nearby spring or who work as washerwomen and domestic servants, and men who serve as porters and perform other very menial tasks and odd jobs. There are no people in these two lower class strata who are considered 'pure' white. A few are considered *brancos da terra* but the great majority of them are Negroes, mulattoes, and others of various degrees of race mixture.

The regional aristocrats reside only in the rural zone and maintain residences outside the community. The 'local upper class' is found in both the rural and the urban zones, since the technicians and administrators on the plantations are of this class, but mostly in the

town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area.

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.¹ Each plantation has its small community, with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent.

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such

¹ Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the *usina*, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and *usina* workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *coastguards* at the harvest-planting season.

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The other important occupation is fishing and there is the new petroleum industry. In Vila Recôncavo, bureaucracy plays a large part in the economics of the urban upper-class. The municipal secretary, the statistics agent, the federal and state tax collectors and their clerks, the postmaster and various other 'white collar' positions belong to this small group. Often members of the municipal government divide their attention between commerce (owning small stores) and their government jobs. Despite its long history and rather easy communication with the large city of Salvador, Vila Recôncavo is still an isolated community. After landing in the town from the regular steamer coming from Salvador, one must proceed inland either by foot or by animal. The only motor vehicles in the community area (except for those of the petroleum industry) are a truck and a delivery-type pick-up truck owned by the São Pedro usina. One hears from all classes that the town is backward, abandoned and dead. It has had a glorious past: wealth, the large and beautiful *sobrados* of the barons who were *donos dos engenhos* (owners of the *engenhos*), two beautiful churches, a national guard post with almost 1,000 soldiers stationed in it, a record of bravery and leadership in the war for Independence in 1822, and a place worthy of a visit from the emperor, Don Pedro II. Today the *sobrados* are in ruins, or have disappeared completely, as today's *donos dos engenhos* remain on their plantations or in the city, forsaking the town. The military have gone, the splendours of the religious feast-days are no more. Vila Recôncavo is representative of the decadence which has overtaken the entire area. Today it is known only for its *xangô* and shrimps.

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IV. In the United States an absolute 'line' is drawn between white and Negro. A person who is not white is a Negro, however small the percentage of Negro blood may be. In Vila Recôncavo, this 'line' is recognized rather than drawn. A distinction between Negro and white is always kept in mind when classifying an individual. Everyone knows who is 'pure' white and who is not. Classification by race is one of the most important aspects of local culture, and one of the most difficult aspects for the outsider to grasp. *Bahianos* of the Recôncavo feel that one may instantly recognize the difference between a 'pure' white and a mixed white-Indian, white-Negro or Negro-Indian, but they do not let it go at that. They classify or minutely describe each person; they classify according to skin colour, according to hair form and according to facial features, and their classifications or racial types are used in everyday conversation. Just as it would be said in the United States that someone is short and fat, the people of Vila Recôncavo will describe a person's colour and hair.

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In the Recôncavo three race stocks are recognized: the white, the Negro and the Indian. A white is called a *branco*. The term *negro* is rarely used to denote a person of African descent. Rather such a person is called *homem de cor* (man of colour). *Negro* is used abstractly to denote the Negro race, but is almost never used to single out an individual. *Nego* (a softened variation of the word *negro*) may frequently be used as a term of endearment, even among whites, and sometimes as a nickname. When the *bahiano* of the Recôncavo speaks of *índio*, he usually thinks of the Indian of the interior of Mato Grosso or of the Amazon. When he wishes to indicate people of American Indian physical type in the Recôncavo, he generally says *caboclo*.

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Yet even the whites are sub-classified, being divided into two categories, the *louro* (blond) and the *moreno* (brunet). There is still a third term for people with Caucasoid physical characteristics, but one which is used only by those who are considered 'pure' white—namely, *branco da terra*. A *branco da terra* is someone who is phenotypically white—that is, who has the physical characteristics of a Caucasoid: fair skin, fine features and 'good' (meaning *straight*) hair—but whose ancestry had Negro blood. He or she is generally *moreno*, and is frequently characterized by a slightly yellowish tinge to the skin. The *branco da terra* sometimes also shows traces of *caboclo* blood as well as of Negro and white blood. In Vila Recôncavo, the 'pure' white man may refer to such a person as a *branco da terra*, but ordinarily will call him or her a *branco*. To the majority of the population, the *branco da terra* is always called white, and no one would ever call anyone a *branco da terra* to his face. He is accorded the same treatment as a white by both whites and non-whites, and there is no constraint on anyone's part.

In classifying people, if skin colour is an important factor, hair form is equally important. If there is any question as to what to call a person, the hair is generally the deciding criterion. After skin and hair, facial features (prognathism, nose shape and thickness of lips) are considered. The many designations used in Vila Recôncavo for the people of Negroid or mixed ancestry can be broken down roughly into the following types in terms of these various criteria:

1. The *preto* or *preto retinto* (black) has black shiny skin, kinky, woolly hair, thick lips and a flat, broad nose. The *pretos* distinguish among themselves, and will rank themselves according to minute differences in 'quality' of skin colour, nose form, etc. The *preto* with the most 'qualidade' is the farthest from the usual concept of a Negro, and yet still a black. He is a 'prettier' black.
2. The *cabra* (male) and *cabrocha* (female) are generally slightly lighter than the *preto*, with hair growing somewhat longer, but still kinky and unmanageable, facial features somewhat less Negroid, although often with fairly thick lips and flat nose.

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- The *cabra* and *cabrocha* generally lack the definite features and shine of the *preto*.
3. The *cabo verde* is slightly lighter than the *preto*, but still very dark. The *cabo verde*, however, has long straight hair, and his facial features are apt to be very fine, with thin lips and a narrow straight nose. He is almost a 'black white man'.
 4. The *escuro*, or simply 'dark man', is darker than the usual run of *mestifos*, but the term is generally applied to a person who does not fit into one of the three types mentioned above. The *escuro* is almost a Negro with Caucasoid features. He generally has *qualidade*. *Escuro* is a very useful term for the outsider in the Recôncavo.
 5. The *mulato* is a category always divided into two types, the *mulato escuro* and *mulato claro* (dark and light mulattoes). The *mulato* has hair which grows perhaps to shoulder length, but which has a decided curl and even kink. It can, however, be straightened. The *mulato's* facial features vary widely; thick lips with a narrow nose, or vice-versa. As a rule, the features are thicker than the *branco's* and thinner than the *preto's*. The *mulato* is generally distinguishable by a yellowish tinge to his skin colour, which is more accentuated than that of the *branco da terra*. His skin colour varies from very light to very dark. A *mulato claro*, with straightened hair, thin lips and a 'good' nose is very much like the *branco da terra*.
 6. *Pardo* is a term not often used in speech. It is one of the official classifications used in the census and on identification papers. However, it is used occasionally to describe an individual who is closer to the white than a *mulato claro*. Occasionally *mestifo* children are described as *pardo*, before their features become distinctive enough to fit them definitely into one of the other groups. In one case, a little girl of three was called *parda* by her mother. The girl lives with her godfather, who is a *branco da terra*. He lists the girl as white, since her skin is very light and her hair is growing long and only slightly wavy. But her mother says she is a *parda*, because she knows that 'her hair may curl up any day, which would make her a *mulata clara*'.
 7. The *sarard* is not difficult to distinguish. He has very light skin, and hair which is reddish or blondish but kinky or curled. His hair is described as *duro*, or hard. His facial features are extremely varied, even more so than the *mulato's*. There are *sarards* who would 'pass' for white in the United States, but more often the *sarard* has a curious appearance; skin which is neither dark nor light, frequently freckled, eyes with a greenish-blue cast and hair which bleaches easily in the sun. In Vila Recôncavo, the *sarard* is usually found among fishermen and those living on the islands. It is difficult to see a person of this physical type without a good sun-tan and bleached hair.

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8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato*, and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarard*—*bem sarard*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem moreninho* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas ele tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element—that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*. They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious, trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

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their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart from the permanent workers.

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.¹ She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'.

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent.

¹ Little *mulata*. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulatto'.

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V. Each physical type in Vila Recôncavo is thought to have a series of personality traits which are correlated with physical appearance. Furthermore, these stereotypes of expected behaviour reflect the attitude of people toward the various racial types present in the population. Two physical types, for example, the *cabra-cabrocha* and the *sarard*, are usually 'more to be pitied than blamed', as they are considered extremely ugly by most people. There is a feeling that they are unfortunate crosses between parents of physical characteristics which do not mix well. They are thought to lack the definite traits which characterize the other physical types and 'even a *preto de qualidade* is better than either of these—at least more handsome'. Furthermore, people of these physical types are thought to be difficult to deal with, irritable and easily angered. They are the physical types which are least preferred in Vila Recôncavo. All other types have some positive qualities. People arrange their preferences in terms of physical type in many ways, according to the qualities they wish to emphasize.

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To the *preto* falls the more humble attributes of being a hard worker, of being humble and capable of loyalty and affection for his employer. He is also called lazy, a contradiction of hard worker. He is considered servile and cheerful. Also it is said that it is the *preto* who knows best how to please (*agradar bem*) the white. With a winning smile, pleasant little sayings and personal attentions, the *preto* knows how to make the *branco* feel important and puts him in the mood to grant favours. In other words, he is a good 'apple polisher', but even this he does with a certain dignity, aware of what he is doing, and aware of the fact that the *branco* also knows. The whites say that a *preto* is usually 'content' to remain *preto*, knowing that while he cannot change his colour, perhaps future generations of his family will have changed theirs. In Vila Recôncavo, people of all racial types, not only the whites, often say that one of the things they like best about the *preto* is that he does not try to be white. No one is more ridiculed than an *homem de cor* who, because of his economic situation and other circumstances, tries to be *gente*, or white.

On the other hand, a *preto* in good economic circumstances, who lives in dignity without pretension, is well thought-of by all. There is one outstanding example of this in Vila Recôncavo. A *preto*, who is the owner of one of the neighbouring sugar plantations and who is quite wealthy, lives quietly and without pretension. His sons go to school in the capital, one to Law School and the other to High School. His relations with the white plantation owners and *usineiros* are cordial and business-like. He would be acceptable at any social gathering he chose to attend, where he would conduct himself like a gentleman, without airs. For this he is admired by all, and pointed to as an example of how the *preto* can conduct himself.

On the other hand, the *mulato* and the *escuro* have the reputation of being social climbers. This is especially true of the *mulato* or *escuro* who has had education beyond the primary school, and who holds some government post or is a merchant or professional man. In Vila Recôncavo two mulattoes consider themselves as, without exception, the only cultured intellectuals in town. They lament the lack of companions to discuss poetry, literature, art and music. They are the first and loudest to say that the people of Vila Recôncavo are lazy, stupid, ignorant and superstitious. They are inclined to call all others *pretos*, and put as much distance between themselves and the *pretos* as possible. They say that they are much closer, racially speaking, to the white than the Negro.

At social reunions among the upper-class whites, a group of educated mulattoes is often present, and it is on such an occasion that all the pretensions characteristic of the mulatto are believed to appear, and that he shows himself a social climber who makes a fetish of correctness of manners, dress and speech. Pierson, writing about the city of Salvador, sums up the attitude of the Vila Recôncavo white toward the mulatto when he quotes: 'I resent their forwardness, their enviousness, their jealousy, their "lack of respect", their pretentiousness, their inconstancy and unreliability, their arrogance and (upon gaining some measure of improved social position) their overweening pride, their boastfulness, cocksureness, "cheekiness" and general manner of showing off.' [7] Both the whites and the Negroes of Vila Recôncavo ridicule the mulatto, and when they use the term *mulato* with a certain inflection they convey the picture of a certain kind of personality. The mulatto, traditionally, has had the opportunity to advance socially, until today he is accorded much the same treatment given to the whites. Once on this level there seems to be competition between the two, and the insecurity of the mulatto seems to make for the above characteristics.

The other *mestiços* of the area resent this type of mulatto, whose actions as well as words indicate that he wants to be white as well as to be treated as white. Few servants are willing to work in the household of such a person. Many people who have the physical characteristics of a mulatto, but have not had the opportunity for education and other advancement, do not like to be called *mulato*. Instead they prefer *pardo*, which indicates the physical characteristics of the mulatto without the personality traits.

The stereotypes regarding the *moreno* are happier. A *moreno*, and more particularly *uma morena* (the female) is expected to be liked. The physical attraction towards such people is felt in all classes and colours. The *morena mulata* (mixed-blood *morena*) and the *morena branca* (white brunette) are frequently lumped together in the romantic national idealization of 'morena'. The *morena* may adopt the ways of whatever group, and she will still be accepted. The *morena*

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is the darling of all the racial types, and she can do almost no wrong.

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There are also stereotypes regarding the white. He is someone who should not work, who should not get dirty or perspire because of work (in sport it is all right). The white is expected to be well educated, well dressed, wealthy, and to have power—both politically and as a landowner. He should also show a certain sense of responsibility toward those of the lower classes dependent upon him, protecting them against any violation of their rights, watching out for his *afilhados* (godchildren) of lower class, and distributing occasional favours. The white is addressed by the formal *o senhor*, while he in return addresses all others by the popular *você*. The white may also receive the very informal and affectionate form of address *yoyó* (for a man) or *yayá* (for a lady), which was traditionally used by slaves for their masters. Interestingly enough, it is usually the darkest of the *pretos* (even the most independent of them) who generally use this form of greeting. *Vossa Excelência* (Your Excellency) is also heard frequently when people of low status of an older generation address an 'aristocratic' white. Sometimes, whites are addressed simply as *meu branco* (my white). When the lower class refer to 'aristocratic white' or when whites talk of themselves, they may simply use the term *gente*, which means more than the simple dictionary definition of 'people': *gente* is synonymous with white, upper class, and wealth. The stereotypes regarding the white and, above all, the very terms by which he is addressed, are in keeping with his landowning aristocratic position.

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This complicated classification of people by racial type, and these numerous stereotypes of the *homem de cor* by the white and vice-versa, are particularly striking in the Recôncavo. In addition to being simply a way of describing a person, like saying he is short or tall, thin or fat, they also imply what people desire in those of other physical types. The white wants good workers, cheerful people in whom he can have confidence. The *homem de cor* wants and needs a protector, a *patrão*, someone who will help him when he needs help, who will be godfather to his children, etc. But at times people will employ these terms in a derogatory manner. A white, displeased by something a *preto* has done or has not done, will frequently say '*que negro ruim*' (what a bad Negro!). But his *preta* cook may say the same thing of the *mulato claro* water-carrier who spills water on her kitchen floor. In the same way, a *preto* or *mestiço* who has been disappointed by a white may say '*que gente ruim*' (literally: what bad people!). Each of these two expressions has its counterpart of approval. The '*que negro bom*' (what a good Negro) has a wealth of meaning. Applied to whatever *homem de cor*, it expresses all that is warm and good that has developed during four centuries of close relationship between Negro and white. It is at once an apology for oppression and slavery, as well as an immediate thank-you. And for

the *homem de côr* to say '*ele é um senhor*' (he IS a real gentleman) or '*um branco bom*' (a good white) is to admit that the white and the Negro can live together in dignity.

There is a series of expressions used by all types to describe the person who is trying to appear white. Whoever tries to be what he is not is considered ridiculous by all. Both whites and Negroes gossip about the social climber and use the terms '*tem pinta*' (has a 'touch of the tarbrush'), '*tem sangue*' (has Negro blood), '*é da raça*' (is of the Negro race), or simply '*besta*' (show-off), '*cheio de arte*' (artful), '*cheio de manha*' (full of little tricks), or '*fala bonito*' (talks pretty).

There are also many phrases used by lower-class people to ridicule Negroes and *mestiços* who are showing off, or 'pushing'. Most of these start off with *Negro*:

Negro doesn't marry, he gets together.

Negro doesn't accompany a procession, he runs after it.

Negro doesn't sit down, he squats.

Negro in white clothes is a sign of rain.

Negro doesn't hear Mass, he spies on it.

Negro at a white man's party is the first to grab and the last to eat.

Negro's intelligence is the same size as his hair.

The concepts and fixed ideas which the people of Vila Recôncavo have of these racial types were also revealed in their responses to a pictorial questionnaire devised in the field.¹ A series of eight photographs of people unknown to those answering the questionnaire was shown, consisting of a male and a female of each of the four major racial types, the *caboclo*, the *preto*, the *mulato* and the *branco*. An attempt was made to use photographs giving no clue to the possible class position of the eight persons. However, the photographs which we were able to secure were not entirely satisfactory for our purposes in Vila Recôncavo. The picture of the *caboclo* male was of a man of middle age, but a type considered in the local conception as having a strong personality, while the *caboclo* woman was older and certainly not *simpática* (pleasant) in the local view. The two *pretos* were both unmistakably *pretos*, and both young. The *mulato* male and female differed one from the other, as the man was definitely a common *mulato* type, while the woman was almost a *morena mulata* rather than 'pure' *mulata*. She was young and considered much more *simpática* than any of the four women presented. The two whites were not distinguished in any way; and there was doubt in the minds of the people answering the questionnaire as to whether these two were 'pure' white or not.

The questionnaire was given to 85 people: 18 *brancos*—11 males,

¹ These questionnaires were given by a local assistant after the author's stay in Vila Recôncavo, but the results agree in general with the observations made during research in the community.

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7 females; 41 *mulatos*—21 males, 20 females; 18 *pretos*—7 males, 11 females; 8 *caboclos*—6 males, 2 females.

Table I gives the racial types which were found respectively most physically attractive, most wealthy, best worker, most honest and most religious.

TABLE I.

Question	No. of people who selected in first place			
	Branco	Preto	Mulato	Caboclo
Most attractive man	39	17	14	15
Most attractive woman	26	3	30	26
Most wealthy man	27	11	9	38
Most wealthy woman	37	8	17	23
Best worker, man	4	38	13	30
Best worker, woman	7	22	23	33
Most honest man	11	22	8	44
Most honest woman	15	13	22	38
Most religious man	21	15	13	36
Most religious woman	17	11	17	40

(Bold type indicates the group most frequently selected in first place.)

From Table I, it results that: (a) the ideal of the most attractive male is the white; (b) the preferred female type is the *mulata*, but the *cabocla*, it must be noted, is almost equally selected with the white; both the *mulata* and the *cabocla* (despite her apparent age) of the photos are of types which have the physical characteristics of the *morena* so preferred in Vila Recôncavo; (c) surprisingly, the *caboclo* male was selected as the wealthiest, in view of the stereotype that it is the white who is generally wealthiest, but I believe that this is due to the fact that people found the photo of the *caboclo* to have a rather 'distinguished' face, while the photo of the white was considered to be a young man with what might be considered a 'characterless' face; (d) the *preto* man was chosen as the best worker, which supports the stereotype discussed earlier, but the *cabocla* was chosen as the best woman worker (this may be explained by the local phrase used to describe her: 'Good for nothing else'); (e) the *caboclos*, both male and female, were chosen as most honest and most religious, which is in keeping with the stereotype of the *caboclo*, who is considered more serious and solemn than the native of the Recôncavo.

Table II, a breakdown of Table I by racial types, shows clearly the type selected in first place by the Negroes, the mulattoes, the whites and the *caboclos*, in answer to the same questionnaire. The most obvious inference derived from Table II is the extremely low posi-

tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen so only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *caboclo*

TABLE II.

Question	Chosen in first place by			
	Negroes	Mulattoes	Whites	Caboclos
Most attractive man.	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C & B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker, man	P	C	P	P
Best worker, woman	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C & M	C	C	C & B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

(P—*pretos*; B—*brancos*; C—*caboclos*; M—*mulatos*. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the *caboclo* in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were *engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was and is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

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(484) the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connections of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

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(357) On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

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(829) The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *tabaréu* or 'hick' of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things: working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

¹ Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do sapo* (backwoodsmen).

In only one case can we absolutely equate a racial type with a class -- the 'aristocratic white' of the rural area with upper class. The upper class of Vila Recôncavo is composed of a few families, descendants of the *senhores de engenho* (landowners), who have kept control of their lands, as well as having made a professional life in the capital as a lawyer, engineer or politician. They are upper-class not only in Vila Recôncavo, but also in the capital, Salvador, and their families are known in other great cities of Brazil. The horizon of these people is far wider than that of anyone else in Vila Recôncavo, and the scope of their activities is wider. Thus the gap between this upper class and any of the other classes is enormous. Nevertheless, the relations between it and the others are close, as this small class spends a large part of the year in the area and travels to it frequently during its stay in Salvador. There is little or no competition between this class and those under it, at least in the rural situation. In the city they are subject to all the stress and strain common to any 'high society' group.

In the rural situation this class remains, to a great extent socially apart from the other strata, but frequently a plantation owner gives a party for the *redondeza* (for the personnel of the nearby plantations). To such a gathering 200 or 300 people may come. The whites remain more as spectators than participants, but rules of courtesy and hospitality are rigorously observed, and guests are made to feel at home, without class differences. It is at such a gathering that the local *mulato* intellectuals and leaders will often attempt to show that they are closer to the whites than the other *mestiços*.

The chief class competition in Vila Recôncavo is between the second highest class and those below it. This second class, the local upper class, includes all the whites of the town, plus a large number of *mulattoes* and Negroes. As a rule it is this class which is the most conservative, the most anxious to retain its 'superiority', and which bears the brunt of pressures from below. This class will seize upon and magnify any element possible to belittle those who are, in any way, possible competition. It is in this group that the daughters are 'guarded', and have neither the freedom of the daughters of the plantation owners nor of the daughters of the fishermen. Ostentation plays a large part in their lives, and the men of this group rarely appear in the street without collar, tie and suit coat.

This group is also widely split by politics. Politics are one of its main methods for holding or advancing its social position, and they are taken seriously. Political scrapping has broken up the social activities of this group to a large extent, and there is more than one case of a family not speaking to another because of political differences. As a result their social activities are almost nil. They lead an unquestionably dull life, attempting to preserve a way of life belong-

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ing to the past, hard-put to maintain their economic status and remain gentlemen, with the result that they retreat more and more into a narrower scope of activity. This class is comparatively small, and while there is no upward movement to the class above it, there are many people hanging on its lower rung, coming up from below. Money will carry a person, whatever his racial type, into this group, although in the rural zone it is occupation and increase in money and authority which will elevate an individual, as in the case of the plantation administrator.

It is in the great body of the third class, the local middle class, that we find the most social ascension, or at least the most opportunity for ascension. Anyone in this class can better himself if he so desires, and once again it is wealth which is most important. Racial type enters here perhaps more strongly than in the second stratum; also the measure of desire to climb which the individual possesses. For among the majority of this class, there is what appears to be a lack of desire to climb. Perhaps this is allied with the past, with a strong heritage of slavery. At any rate, it is here that class and race are most generally confused.

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Most people in this stratum who desire to ascend socially will say that it is better to be white, or at least light, than dark because it is the white who has the most money, the most education, and consequently most opportunities. Traditionally the light-skinned mulatto has been able to share to some extent in these things. Therefore, today, if an individual is lighter it will be easier for him to climb, simply because of his lightness. Upper-class people accept light-skinned people more readily—nevertheless, it is considered better to be a wealthy *preto* than a poor white.

For this class, after money, marriage is one of the surest methods to climb, and it is a fact that the light-skinned person marries upward more easily than the dark-skinned person. No one in any class likes a marriage in which the skin colours are too far apart. Any marriage of dark with light or white will be referred to as *maraca no leite*, or fly in the milk, and a certain repugnance is felt by all. One man, formerly a fisherman, but now a merchant of some means, is a *preto* married to a *branca da terra* who was poor but almost white. This marriage has not helped him much, as his wife did not bring him social position, but it has 'lightened' his children. His own status is increased through his financial transactions. But his children, who are lighter, are being educated in the city, and more readily acceptable because of their colour and their economic background. Their chances for a better marriage are greater than if they had the same background but were dark.

In another case, a white girl of the local upper class of the town is engaged to a *preto*, who is an engineer in Salvador, but whose family has roots in Vila Recôncavo. There was great resistance to

the engagement on the part of the girl's family, and all her friends felt that, although she had a good 'catch', that is, a successful man, he was too dark for her. This in spite of the fact that the girl's father is a *branco da terra*, and that her grandmother was dark-skinned.

One great bar between the upper class of 'aristocratic whites' and those below them is that of marriage. The white of the second class may sometimes be acceptable to the upper class, because he is white; but the chances are heavy against the marriage of an 'aristocratic white' with an *homem de cor*. Perhaps in the city situation a marriage between a white of this upper class and a *mestiço* of the same class would take place, but certainly not in a rural area.

Until the end of the last century many bastards were produced by the white plantation owners and their sons, with the slaves and ex-slaves. The Vila Recôncavo population is made up of a large segment of these individuals and their offspring, and in many cases they bear the name of the family of the white. So that today there exist in Vila Recôncavo people who are relatives to various degrees of the white upper class, and in some cases have the same family name. These people are not recognized socially by the whites. In many instances the mixed-blood has the family name, not because he was given it, but because he took it. Frequently a white family will keep track of the descendants on the illegitimate side of the family, and help them if necessary, but they would never introduce one of these individuals as a member of the family, even when that person has all the family physical characteristics.

In one case, the illegitimate daughter of a union between a slave and a white man recently found herself in a position to help the legitimate daughter of her father's cousin. This girl was born free to a slave, before abolition. The slave mother managed to educate the girl, who became a successful schoolteacher. Later on, when her father's cousin's legitimate daughter, widowed with three children, needed help to educate one of her own daughters, she found that aid from her *mestiço* cousin.

This type of race mixture is far less common today than it was some 70 years ago. However, young white men still frequently have their early sex experiences with *mestiço* and *preto* girls.

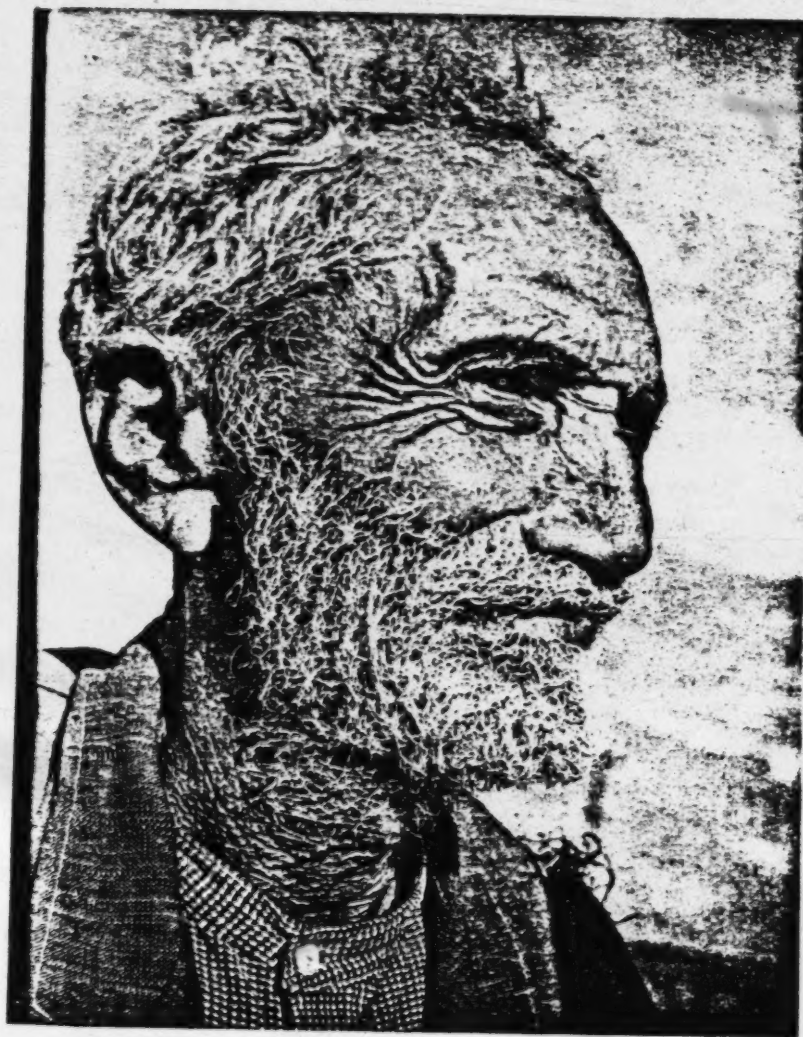
The fourth class, the lowest, is confined to the town and consists of people who have no steady employment and who have no *patrão*. They are people caught in the changing economic pattern of the area, from a highly personalized *patrão* economy to a more modern money economy. As yet there is no room for this group in the rural area. There are no 'pure' whites here—a few *brancos da terra*, and *mulatos* and *pretos*. Ascension from this class, which is very small, is easier for a woman, especially if she is light-skinned. For a man, only money will take him upward.

Traditionally the *preto* is linked with ignorance and superstition,

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3. Caboclo of the interior of Bahia
[facing P. 42]

Traditionally

565 the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition,
 563 and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper
 794 strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetich
 [171] cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been
 [177] described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is
 [178] known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman
 Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there
 are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing
 to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary
 to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the
 god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old
 ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler
 [776] innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's*
 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of
 Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of
candomblé, Yemanjá being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity,
 while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in
 [782] Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they
 {226} must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the
mãe de santo who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and
 who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb
 the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then
 publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in
 many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial
 support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it
 is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he
 secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial
 classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it
 that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all
 racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or
 as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is
 even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former
 lawyer!

563 Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and
 555 *mestigos* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and
 without education. Two examples are the plantation adminis-
 [463] trators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively
 [872] well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or
 [873] write. On another plantation, the *seitor* has taught himself to read
 and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools
 were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night
 schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often
 walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact
 that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

563 In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for
 565 many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of
 872 the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

3: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11



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[facing P. 43]

4. A black cowboy of the Sertão

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestizo* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

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plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, marrying among themselves and living out their own social life apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat, the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The administrators like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their employers. Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as *candomblé* and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to disassociate themselves from these groups.

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, there are more and more problems of class relationships; the population is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in-

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creasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy. In the rural districts physical type is less important than in the town, since there is less chance for one to rise socially, the positions of prestige being highly limited. But in the town and at the *usina*, the opportunities are greater, and therefore more emphasis is put upon racial type; although, even in the town, racial type is not the most important criterion for ascending the social scale, the most important being the possession of wealth and education. However, in the town, people who have wealth and education also show a tendency to 'lighten', generation after generation, as well as to ascend socially. There is no such thing as 'passing' in Vila Recôncavo, and there is no need for it, for many individuals who clearly show traces of Negro ancestry are called white and treated as white, with no constraint or embarrassment. Also there are no social activities closed to the *homem de cor*, provided he has the money and the education to take advantage of them. Physical attraction is also extremely important in the social acceptance or rejection of people, as is shown in the complicated fashion of classifying and stereotyping individuals, and the idealization of the *morena*.

In other areas of the Recôncavo, the personal element has been lost to a great extent, and has been replaced with a rigid class system, based upon wealth, personal initiative, education, racial type and 'luck'. For the most part, the tradition of the *patrão* is disappearing and people are more dependent upon their own resources in a more strictly monetary economy. Vila Recôncavo still however remains sufficiently isolated to preserve much of the tradition of the past, of easy-going personal relations between people of all classes and racial types.

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